

NY Times 26 January 1977

Richardson Is Expected To Head U.S. Delegation On Law of the Sea Treaty

By KATHLEEN TELTSCH
Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Jan. 24—Elliot L. Richardson, who has held four Cabinet positions in Republican administrations, has been chosen by President Carter to head the United States delegation to the United Nations Law of the Sea Conference.

The selection of Mr. Richardson, according to official White House sources

will be announced imminently.

The appointment is certain to be seen here as reflecting the importance the Carter Administration means to give the Law of the Sea negotiations that are to produce a comprehensive international treaty covering all uses of the oceans—shipping and navigation, fishing and mining of seabed minerals.

As early as last fall it was known that the newly elected Democratic Administration had begun an in-depth review of American policies that had brought the United States into a hardening conflict with less-developed countries on the issue of sharing seabed resources.

It also had been expected that there would be a change in the negotiating team that had been headed by T. Vincent

Learson, a former chairman of the board of International Business Machines.

The leadership of the American delegation had become a matter of dispute last year when the second-ranking member, John Norton Moore, resigned and later charged the Ford Administration with giving inadequate attention to the treaty.

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U.S. Achieves Victories At U.N. Sea Conference

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Special to The Washington Post

UNITED NATIONS, May 7 — Intensive U.S. lobbying in Third World capitals and arm-twisting by American delegates in U.N. corridors won major victories in the U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea that ended here today.

Overcoming objections of Third World nations, the United States won agreement for a fifth session of the conference in New York during August and September.

The United States also won a major victory in the revision of sea law treaty articles dealing with the exploitation of nodules on the deep seabed which contains an estimated \$3 trillion worth of nickel, copper, cobalt and manganese.

The U.S. lobbied for a summer session because it is under pressure by Congress and the mineral interests to resolve the many other outstanding issues in revision of the treaty. The mineral interests want to speed the declaration of a 200-mile fishing limit off the U.S. coasts, now set for next March, so deep sea mining can begin while American technology still has a lead.

The new treaty text, which is still informal and will be discussed further at the summer session, guarantees American corporations access to the deep sea mineral wealth, and a fair share of the profits. It says that the international authority to be set up to regulate deep-sea mining shall grant concessions to corporations, as well as entering into joint ventures to mine the minerals itself.

This was among many American proposals, set forth by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger in an April 8 speech, that were incorporated virtually intact into the revised text.

The "group of 77"—composed of over 100 Third World nations—decided this

morning to withhold its approval of this portion of the revised text. Many of its members feel that the new version favors corporate interests without providing assurances that substantial revenue would accrue to poorer nations.

Because of their fears of being railroad into a quick and unfavorable treaty, a number of the more radical Third World countries sought to postpone the next conference session until next January.

Another interest group that felt outmaneuvered by the text revisions was the one made up of the 51 countries that are landlocked or have limited coastal zones. They protested the absence of any guarantees for them of special rights of access to the resources of an "economic zone" stretching 200 miles out to sea, and the lack of any transit rights across coastal states to the sea.

On their behalf, Austria threatened to block any treaty agreement unless their interests were taken into account this summer.

The texts—which contain more than 400 treaty articles—are broken down into

four sections, dealing with the settlement of disputes, the area beyond national jurisdiction, individual nations' territorial sea and economic zone, and the problem of research and the marine environment.

Significant progress was made over the past eight weeks toward a consensus on the territorial sea and economic zone. Most of the fisheries issues and the strategically important question of the passage of ships through straits have been resolved. What remains are the problems of the landlocked states and the question of how much sovereignty coastal states will have in the area extending 200 miles from their shores.

Although the changes in the negotiating text dealing with the deep-sea area beyond 200 miles pleased the United States and most industrial nations, deep differences remain to be resolved. They include the guidelines for profit-sharing, the powers of the international authority that will regulate the zone and the mining of it, and measures to assure land-based mineral producers that the new seabed mining will not cut into their market and their profits.

Cambodia Still Shelling In Mayaguez Territory

The Italian merchant ship Sorento was shelled by a Cambodian shore battery as it sailed in the waters where the Mayaguez was hijacked a year ago this month, maritime sources said yesterday.

The shelling occurred April 21 about seven miles from the Cambodian island of Poulo Wai. U.S. maritime officials said they did not know of any casualties. A spokesman at the Italian embassy here said he had

not heard about the shelling.

The Maritime Administration, in response to the Cambodian shelling, repeated its May 12, 1975, warning to mariners to remain more than 35 nautical miles off the Cambodian mainland and 20 nautical miles from outlying islands.

The Mayaguez was seized by Cambodian forces on May 12, 1975.

NY Times May 9, 1976

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Still No Sea Law Agreements

file

After eight weeks, the third session of the United Nations Law of the Sea Conference has ended in New York without agreement on the major issues, and the 1,400 delegates from 150 nations have agreed to return in August to try again.

Subjects still unsettled include the powers of coastal states in the 200-mile "economic zones" off their coasts, demands of landlocked and otherwise geographically disadvantaged states for a share in fish and mineral resources in the oceans, restrictions on marine research, and control of mining deep on the ocean floor.

There has been some progress on the deep-sea mining question, at least partly in response to United States pressure. American delegates had sought an international treaty on the subject before Congress unilaterally gives American firms permission to exploit ocean minerals. But such a treaty did not come from the New York meeting, just as it had not from the previous deliberations in Geneva and Caracas.

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LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE

The New York session (March 15-May 7) demonstrated a strong will to reach agreement on a treaty, before national unilateral actions preempt its efforts, by (1) deciding to meet at New York Aug. 2-Sept 17, 1976, instead of waiting until 1977, and (2) preparing a new proposed treaty text with more than 400 articles, including a major step toward agreement by making those dealing with deep seabed mining more acceptable to the United States.

With adjournment of the New York Law of the Sea session, Congress resumes consideration of the Deep Seabed Hard Mineral Bills. Senate Commerce, Foreign Relations, and probably Armed Services have scheduled joint hearings May 17 and 19 on S 713, reported from the Interior Committee on April 14. They must report to the Senate by June 2. The Mining Subcommittee of the House Interior Committee will hold hearings May 18, 20, and 24 on HR 11879, already reported favorably by the Oceanography Subcommittee of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.

Senator Lee Metcalf's subcommittee of the Senate Interior Committee plans report hearings on the New York LOS session on June 8.

New York Times, May 18, 1976
Sea Law Conference:
U.S. Interest

To the Editor:

Professor Gary Knight's April 29 letter, "Sea Law: The Appalling U.S. Concessions," calls for response. I have a different opinion on several points of law raised in that letter.

I believe that under existing international law unrestricted mining of deep-seabed minerals by individual states is an arguable proposition rather than an established right. Even if states uncontrovertibly had the right here in question, the strong opposition to its exercise by a large majority of members of the United Nations could hardly be ignored. Their opposition is reinforced by the acceptance in the United Nations of the concept of "common heritage of mankind" as a hypothesis of work toward a generally acceptable legal regime of the seabed.

Various sovereign rights concerning the exploration, exploitation and conservation of marine resources have been recognized as belonging to states by both treaty and custom, and there seems to be a good deal of persuasive force in the argument of those who maintain that the new economic rights might not be completely protected in a regime of full freedom of research. Therefore, a fair accommodation of the newly recognized rights with the traditional freedoms and uses of the sea appears to be desirable, if not necessary.

Even more questionable appears to me the proposition that the United States should back its political will with the threat or use of force where necessary. Under the Charter of the United Nations, the United States must refrain from the threat or use of force in international relations. It would be most regrettable if the United States—a country which relentlessly strove to obtain respect for this principle—would itself embark upon the perilous course of armed self-help on the high seas.

The policy of the United States in regard to the regime of the seas cannot be isolated from its policy on other important subjects of international relations. Therefore, it is not surprising that the State Department is keenly interested in the successful conclusion of the conference.

To sum up, I do not think that the U.S. interests may be better served by the demise of the current conference. It should not be forgotten that the failure of the 1958 and 1960 Geneva Conferences on the Law of the Sea to determine the limit of the territorial sea and to acknowledge the existence of a fisheries zone has greatly contributed to the present abnormal situation in international marine affairs.

DAN CIOBANU

Jamaica Plain, Mass., May 6, 1976

Research associate in international law at Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

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Letters to the Editor

Law of the Sea: The Vital U.S. Interests

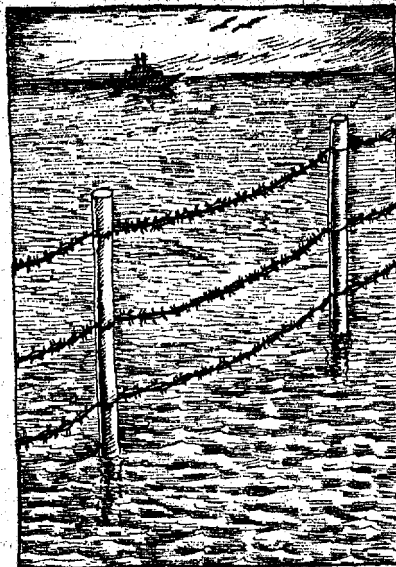
To the Editor:

Prof. H. Gary Knight, in his April 29 letter in the Times, makes serious charges against United States policy at the Law of the Sea Conference, questionable assumptions about present U.S. ocean rights and dubious recommendations for U.S. policy. Do these stand up under analysis?

No, the U.S. is not, as charged, "following a policy of obtaining a Law of the Sea treaty at any price." No, the Department of Defense does not dominate Law of the Sea policy at the expense of other U.S. interests. No, Professor Knight's "appalling" U.S. "concessions" on deep seabed mining would not injure U.S. interests, and had the approval of responsible representatives of the U.S. deep seabed mining companies, who are serving as active advisers to the U.S. delegation to the L.O.S. Conference. No, the U.S. has not acquiesced in production and price controls for deep seabed minerals.

No, it is not clear that U.S. granting of leases for deep seabed mining on specific sites 1,000 miles from our coasts would be upheld under present international law. The same is true of an assumed U.S. "right" to conduct oceanographic research on other states' continental shelves without their consent.

Nor does Professor Knight's proposed policy of backing these and other assumed "rights" by the "threat of use of force where necessary" commend itself as the preferred way to further U.S. interests.



Pat Warner

On the contrary, Ambassador Larson's able U.S. delegation should continue to press for a comprehensive and widely accepted Law of the Sea treaty. If this can be achieved, peaceful, equitable and orderly development of ocean resources, and protection of ocean environment, are better served, as well as other vital U.S. interests. And an important step toward world order will have been taken.

SAMUEL R. LEVERING
Washington, May 3, 1976

The writer is a member of the Advisory Committee to the U.S. Law of the Sea delegation.

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GENERAL

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, MAY 8, 1976

U.N. Talks Seeking a Sea-Law Accord Close With Differences Unresolved

By KATHLEEN TELTSCH

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., May 7—Eight weeks of negotiations for a treaty covering the uses of the oceans and mining of deep seabed minerals closed today with ample evidence that basic disputes remained unsettled.

Representatives of 147 countries participating in the United Nations Law of the Sea Conference agreed today to hold a seven-week session in New York beginning Aug. 2, in a further effort to complete work begun in 1973.

The pact the conferees have been working on would cover shipping, fisheries, scientific research, pollution and sharing of the resources of the seabed.

The clash of interests that has marked the current closed, eight-week session was reflected again at today's meeting.

Alen Beesley of Canada said the major unresolved issue was the deadlock between the 100 coastal countries, on the one side, and on the other a coalition of nations that are landlocked or have inadequate coasts. The coalition members are demanding guaranteed access to the sea and a share in offshore resources and fisheries.

Mr. Beesley said the impasse must be given priority attention at the next negotiating round.

Karl Wolf of Austria, a spokesman for the coalition, protested in a statement that "no noticeable progress" had been made at this session in

meeting the coalition members' demands. He also deplored what he described as the growing trend among coastal countries to extend their national jurisdictions.

U. S. Pushing for Accord

President Ford recently signed into law legislation extending United States fisheries jurisdiction to 200 miles as of next March 1. Chile, Ecuador and Peru, among others, have long maintained such offshore limits.

The United States, in an effort to prod the conference toward agreement, has also warned that it will proceed to explore and mine the seabed unless a treaty agreement is reached soon.

The warning was given last month by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger when he offered a series of new proposals and announced that he would lead the American delegation to the next negotiating round.

It was unclear today how the current, largely inconclusive session would affect the campaign of American private interests that are seeking Federal legislation in Congress to issue sea-mining licenses before a treaty is completed.

Revised texts of a draft treaty were produced today, but they were offered only as tentative documents, a basis for future negotiations.

Conference participants were reluctant to offer immediate appraisals of the complex, 400-article text. However, the United States and other technologically advanced countries were expected to see significant gains in provisions covering an international authority that is to negotiate mining of seabed minerals.

NEW YORK TIMES

8 MAY 1976

Issues in Ocean Parley

The fourth session of the Third Conference on the Law of the Sea, which ended inconclusively yesterday, was the latest in a series of attempts by the United Nations to frame new rules for activities throughout the world's oceans and to spur international maritime cooperation that began almost three decades ago.

PARTICIPANTS—All members of the United Nations and 12 countries outside the world organization, 156 nations together, were invited, and 147 actively participated in the session, which began March 15.

ISSUES—Negotiations behind closed doors and debate in a few public meetings centered on the proposed extension of the territorial sea from three miles to 12 miles; a new concept of an exclusive economic zone beyond the territorial sea to a 200-mile limit from the shoreline; passage through straits and mining of the deep ocean floor. Other issues included international regulations for fisheries, measures to curb ocean pollution and the claims of landlocked countries and nations with short coastlines to be accorded special consideration.

HISTORY—The efforts to write new international maritime law started in the 1940's. After almost 10 years of preparatory work by the United Nations' International Law Commission, two world conferences were convened in 1958 and 1960. The first parley produced new rules dealing with the territorial sea, fishing and other problems; the second conference failed to adopt any major proposals.

The third conference opened at United Nations headquarters in December 1973, devoted mainly to procedure. Two more sessions on substantive issues were held in Caracas, Venezuela, in 1974, and in Geneva in 1975.

The United States has been pressing for agreement on a new international sea-law treaty within this year. Today, the conference adopted a proposal to hold another session in New York, Aug. 2 to Sept. 17.

If the conference, during the summer session or in an additional session some time next year, reaches consensus on a draft treaty, the document will be signed by participating government representatives at a meeting in Caracas.

NEW YORK TIMES

10 May 1976

JOURNALISTS HELD BY 17 COUNTRIES

Amnesty Unit Lists 67 Who
'Disappeared' or Are Jailed
for Political Reasons

By BERNARD WEINRAUB

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, May 9—A list of 67 journalists who have been detained for political reasons or have "disappeared" in 17 countries was issued today by Am-

nesty International, a British-based human rights organization.

The list, one of the most comprehensive so far to deal with imprisoned journalists, includes men and women who have allegedly been subjected to torture or "degrading treatment." The countries named are Bangladesh, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, India, Indonesia, South Korea, the Philippines, Singapore, South Africa, Taiwan, Tanzania, Thailand, Turkey, the Soviet Union, Uruguay and Yugoslavia.

Officials of Amnesty International said that publication of the list had been timed to coincide with the opening tomorrow of the 25th general assembly of the International Press Institute in Philadelphia. The

institute includes publishers, editors and newspaper executives.

"There are almost certainly more journalists detained in the world and equally certainly more countries that are holding journalists in custody," said Amnesty, a group that was established in 1961 to work for the release of persons imprisoned for political or religious reasons. It now has chapters in 33 countries.

Omissions Explained

The organization said: "The fact that a country or a particular journalist is not included only means that any such cases have not yet been taken up by or come to the attention of Amnesty International."

Almost all the journalists

"are detained in violation of Article 19 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which asserts the right of everyone to 'receive and impart information through any media' as an integral part of the right to freedom of expression," it asserted.

"Many of the journalists are held without charge or trial. Some have been subjected to 'torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment,' in violation of Article 5 of the declaration."

Amnesty said that the list was accurate only up to April 23, and that some of the journalists might have been released since then. Journalists who disappeared in Cambodia in the late 1960's were not included because they were war correspond-

dents and could not come under the category of political prisoners, Amnesty said.

The list included 21 journalists reportedly held in Indonesia; seven in the Soviet Union; six in Brazil; five in Yugoslavia and four each in India and Taiwan. Three were listed from Chile and three from Bangladesh. Cuba, Singapore, Tanzania, Thailand and Turkey had two each. South Korea, the Philippines, South Africa and Uruguay each had one.

The journalists listed from India were arrested after the declaration on June 26, 1975 of a state of emergency that imposed total press censorship and suspended specific fundamental rights. The prisoners are all detained under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act, which provided for detention without charge of trial.

The journalists listed from Indonesia, with one exception, have been detained without trial under Presidential Decree 5 of 1969, which empowers army authorities to detain indefinitely persons suspected of involvement in an attempted left-wing coup in September 1965. The majority have been detained since 1965.

The broad allegation made against those journalists associated with newspapers that were banned after the attempted coup, or with the national news agency Antara, before it was purged, is that their writings in support of the late President Sukarno or the Communist Party helped to create a political climate that favored the coup attempt.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Friday, May 7, 1976

Libyan pressure in North Africa

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science
Monitor

Athens

Libyan leader Col. Muammar al-Qaddafi is stepping up his influence and pressure in North Africa and the East Mediterranean.

These Libyan efforts now include pressure on Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba, continued propaganda efforts to isolate Egyptian President Sadat, support for Turkey against Greece in Cyprus, and for Algeria against Morocco in the Western Sahara.

Libyan forces kidnapped three Tunisian soldiers on the Libyan-Tunisian desert border, Tunis radio reports heard here Sunday said. The move appeared to be in retaliation after sentencing by a Tunis court of a Libyan infiltrator, Muhammad Ali Nail, to hanging for conspiring to kidnap or kill Tunisian Premier Hedi Nour. Two other Libyans, who with Mr. Nail were alleged to have acted on direct orders from Colonel Qaddafi, received prison sentences.

North African observers believed Colonel Qaddafi

whom President Bourguiba earlier accused of plotting his assassination, might try to trade the liberty of the three soldiers against freedom for Mr. Nail and his two colleagues.

Western intelligence sources believe Libya continues to channel funds and agents to leftist extremists in Lebanon to keep the fighting going there, despite new peace hopes raised by incumbent Lebanese President Suleiman Franjeh's apparent acquiescence in election of a successor.

Much of this aid has been in cash. But weapons and personnel, including Palestinians of the radical "rejection front" trained in Libya, reached the Lebanese ports of Sidon and Tyre before the Syrian Navy began blockading the Lebanese coast there, sources say.

In March, Egyptian security men apprehended seven Libyans they said had been hunting down two Libyan political exiles, former members of Colonel Qaddafi's ruling Council. Colonel Qaddafi re-

taliated by expelling more than 20,000 Egyptians from

Libya.

Jordan and Libya are renewing diplomatic relations, which Libya broke off in 1971 to protest Jordan's expulsion of Palestine guerrillas, Amman announced April 22. An Amman communique hinted at the growing coolness of King Hussein toward President Sadat because last September's Sinai accord between Egypt and Israel omitted Jordan and Syria, now drawing together.

Amman said the renewal with Tripoli was intended to unify all the potential of the Arab nation in the face of the Zionist enemy and to remain united toward attempts to slow up liberation of all the occupied territories.

Libya is backing Turkey in preparations for a conference of Islamic foreign ministers scheduled about May 10 in Istanbul. Turkey plans a major effort at this conference to win more Arab, Iranian, and Pakistani support for its Cyprus position at a time when it expects pressure on Cyprus from the U.S. Congress, soon to consider defense accords.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, MAY 10, 1976

Ulrike Meinhof, an Anarchist Leader In Germany, Is Found Hanged in Cell

STUTTGART, West Germany, May 9 (AP)—Ulrike Meinhof, on trial for nearly a year with three other members of the Baader-Meinhof urban guerrilla group, was found hanged today in her maximum security cell, the Stuttgart prosecutor's office reported.

A spokesman said the 41-year-old former journalist was last seen alive last night by a guard and that she was heard typewriting in her cell until 10:30 P.M.

When another guard opened her cell this morning, he found Miss Meinhof hanging at the window rails from a piece of her prison towel.

The spokesman said the papers she left behind gave no indication of any intent to commit suicide. He said further details would be released after an inquiry.

West German authorities put security forces on alert in fear of retaliation by sympathizers of the leftist radical group.

Until 1968, Miss Meinhof was a successful journalist who wrote her own column in a

Hamburg-based satirical leftist magazine owned by her husband, Klaus Rainer Rohl, father of her two children. But she parted with her family that year and left her job.

She appeared in West Berlin where authorities said she helped free Andreas Baader, who was serving a sentence for an arson attack on a Frankfurt department store. A guard was shot and seriously wounded when Mr. Baader was liberated from the prison library on May 14, 1970.

Miss Meinhof and Mr. Baader went into hiding and organized the Red Army Faction, which the police say was responsible for acts that terrorized most of West Germany in the next few years. The faction became commonly known as the Baader-Meinhof group.

Sentenced to 8 Years

Following the rearrest of Mr. Baader, the arrests of Jan-Carl Raspe and Gudrun Ensslin, Miss Meinhof was apprehended in Hanover-Langenhagen on June 7, 1972. A West Berlin court sentenced her to eight years in

prison for the prison attack that freed Mr. Baader.

After her trial in Berlin in 1974, at which she said an "armed battle" to achieve a change in society was legal, Miss Meinhof and the three other members of the group were brought to Stammheim, which was specially constructed outside of Stuttgart for the Baader-Meinhof trial, which began under maximum security precautions on May 21, 1975.

The four were charged with masterminding a wave of anti-state bombings and shootings that killed four United States servicemen and a policeman, wounded several others and endangered at least 54 persons. The indictment also accused them of car thefts, burglaries and bank robberies that netted the equivalent of \$200,000.

The trial, halted numerous protest motions and outbursts by the defendants, is expected to last at least two years. Most of the time, the defendants have been kept out of the court proceedings or have chosen to remain in their cells.

This theme was already raised by Turkish leaders at the recent summit talks in Izmir, Turkey, between Turkey's President, the Shah of Iran, and the Pakistani Prime Minister. Libya supplies the Turkish armed forces with oil and other strategic goods. Turkish contractors are working in Libya, and there have been recent exchanges of military staff officers' visits between Ankara and Tripoli.

Twice in April, Algerian President Houari Boumedienne met Colonel Qaddafi.

The meetings doubtless dealt with Algeria's opposition to the take-over of the former Spanish Sahara (now called Western Sahara) by Morocco and Mauretania. Mr. Boumedienne has challenged Morocco — as prime mover in the take-over — as legal heir to the lion's share of the former Spanish territory.

Al Moujahid, a newspaper of Algeria's ruling party, predicted April 23 that a summer offensive against the Moroccans in the Sahara will be militarily decisive.

The Oceans' Use

A Turning Point May Be Reached Today In the UNEffort to Draft a Law of the Sea

By BARRY NEWMAN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
NEW YORK—Negotiations to write the first law to govern use of the world's oceans may be reaching a turning point today as the third session of the United Nations talks comes to an end amid continuing friction between industrial and developing countries.

In two years of elaborate meetings, first in Caracas, and then in Geneva, the 148 Conference did little more than jostle in the starting gate of what has seemed like an immense task for the wealth of the oceans. It has been the knottiest international bargaining ever. It has also been, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger said last month, "one of the most significant negotiations in diplomatic history."

During an eight-week New York session just closing, some hard compromises have finally been struck. There now is acceptance, for instance, of a 12-mile territorial sea (replacing the three-mile "cannon shot" of another era), and that has been coupled with a 200-mile "economic zone" where coastal countries would hold sway over commercial activity.

However, a crucial accord that was thought to be emerging on a way to organize the mining of copper, nickel and manganese on the floor of the deep sea, beyond the 200-mile zone, ran into trouble yesterday. The seabed mining plan—which would give the international community a share of the wealth—was offered as a major concession by the United States. The U.S. has been pushing for a largely free-enterprise mining system, but advanced the compromise partly to give the seabed conference a jolt. Developing countries, which have opposed any private exploitation of the seabed, are finding the compromise hard to swallow. In reaction, many of them have come out against Secretary Kissinger's proposal to convene the conference with the hope of completing a treaty only two or three months from now in Geneva or New York.

Pitfalls Remain
As of late yesterday, the conference was still trying to decide in closed session whether to call the summer meeting. But even if the meeting is held, the last of the sea won't be home free. Numerous pitfalls remain, any one of which could trip up the conference. There is harsh disagreement over the composition of a council to oversee ocean mining. There is a standoff over the rights of one country to conduct scientific research off the coast of another. And a new coalition has arisen of landlocked and other so-called "geographically disadvantaged" states that are trying mightily to gain something for themselves from the sea. If these 52 countries don't get at least part of what they want, there are enough of them to block a treaty.

Moreover, even if every country in the world signs an ocean treaty, there are still substantial doubts that it would be universally ratified. The U.S. delegation, for example, is already getting adverse domestic reaction to its offer of a seabed compromise, and delegation members are clearly worried.

One of the more visible opponents of the compromise, a law professor named Gary Knight, from Louisiana State University, calls it a "dead giveaway" of seabed mining, and he predicts that "34 Senators could easily be brought together to refuse to ratify." A mining-industry representative who asks not to be identified insists the compromise has to be a "bottom line proposition;" any further movement, he says, would turn him against the treaty. In Congress, a bill that would license U.S. companies to mine the deep seabed with or without a treaty is expected to be on the Senate floor by June. Last March, Congress passed a bill claiming U.S. control over fishing as far as 200 miles to sea. President Ford signed the bill despite appeals from his own diplomats. Treaty proponents fear that political considerations in an election year could similarly encourage unilateral action on mining, especially if the conference doesn't meet over the summer, and could turn Congress and the public against the treaty they don't measurably enhance U.S. interests.

Likened to Canal Issue

"Joe Six-pack doesn't know anything about the law of the sea—he never heard of it," says Sen. Mike Gravel, Democrat of Alaska, who is against unilateral moves. "As soon as extreme conservatives realize we're planning to cede sovereignty to an international body, they'll call it the worst treason. They're doing this right now in regard to the Panama Canal. You'll see the drawing of the line."

Hoping to head off legislation, the U.S. and other countries are asking the UN conference to give the treaty the force of law when it is signed, instead of waiting for later ratification—a process that could take eight years. Otherwise, says a U.S. diplomat, "the whole thing could be for naught." A senior UN official, asked what effect U.S. ocean-mining legislation could have on the conference, says, "I don't want to answer that question because I wouldn't want to sound gloomy and pessimistic."

The balance is delicate. Some people fear that the conference could explode if pressured too forcefully, or atrophy if not pressured enough. For this reason, conference leaders over the last two years have thought it too risky to take a vote on anything. Substantive bargaining has gone ahead in secret, and all agreements have been reached through consensus. Records aren't even kept. Information about what's happening comes mainly from diplomats willing to talk without being identified.

In the last week, conference leaders have gone into a decision to escape constant delegate lobbying and have drafted a tentative treaty that presumably reflects areas of agreement. The text will be revised at least once before a final treaty takes shape. The end product will be the result of alliances that have dissolved, and coalitions again, as each nation has struggled to sort out its principles and weigh them against its self-interest.

Boise Cascade Boosts Dividend, Sees Rise In Net; Payoffs Listed

By WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter
BOISE, Idaho—Boise Cascade Corp. raised its quarterly dividend, and it expects higher 1976 earnings and disclosed that a subsidiary and some affiliates had made improper payments of about \$17,000 to foreign government employees.

The forest-product concern's directors boosted the quarterly dividend to 20 cents a share from 18 1/2 cents, payable July 18 to stock of record June 18.

John B. Fery, president and chief executive officer, told the annual meeting that the company's 1976 earnings are expected to surpass last year's \$83.9 million, or \$2.16 a share. He cited improving markets for building materials and paper.

Mr. Fery said the company had conducted an investigation to determine whether the company, its subsidiaries or affiliates had made any improper payments to foreign government employees. The investigation showed that over a five-year period beginning in 1971, five violations of company policy occurred in which the company and three by concerns in which the company has some management responsibility but holds an interest of 50% or less.

The executive added that these payments were unknown to senior management and the company's directors. Boise Cascade's proportionate share of these payments, based on its equity ownership, was about \$11,000, he said.

A spokesman said the company has "chosen not to identify" the subsidiary or affiliates. It also has declined to identify the foreign government employees. "To do so would cause unnecessary embarrassment to those who've helped us in this investigation," the spokesman said.

He said that the company has taken "appropriate disciplinary action," ranging from oral reprimands to dismissals, against those individuals involved.

The spokesman added that these payments "appear to be improper," adding that "the evidence is strong enough that there's a distinct possibility, probably really, that they were improper."

Rail-Freight Traffic Rose 3.9% Last Week, 8.2% From Year Ago

By WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter
WASHINGTON—Rail-freight traffic last week rose 3.9% from the previous week and 8.2% from a year earlier.

Volume in the week ended last Saturday totaled 15.9 billion ton-miles, the Association of American Railroads said, up from 15.3 billion the prior week and 14.7 billion a year earlier. A ton-mile equals one ton of freight hauled one mile.

Cumulative 1976 traffic through the latest week totaled 264 billion ton-miles, up 2.2% from the like 1975 period.

Carloadings last week totaled 485,715 cars, up 3.5% from the previous week and 6.4% above a year before.

Piggyback loadings of truck trailers on flatcars in the week ended April 24 totaled 25,896 cars, up 10.7% from a year earlier.

Inter-city truck tonnage last week rose 14.2% from the prior week and almost 17% from a year earlier, the American Trucking Associations said.

Early in the negotiations, for instance, more than 100 developing countries lined up in favor of total coastal-state control over activity in the 200-mile economic zone. It has since dawned on countries that are landlocked (or have short coastlines or coastlines that are close to other nations) that strong coastal states could squeeze them out of the sea for good. So these countries—including such unlikely couples as Bolivia and Singapore, Sweden and Uganda—have rebelled and erected one of the conference's biggest roadblocks.

Their diplomats realize that these states aren't likely to get a crack at oil and minerals in the coastal waters of other nations. But they are demanding continued freedom of transit for their ships in the 200-mile zone and some sort of access to fish and other living resources. If those rights are granted, an Asian diplomat says, "then we won't torpedo the conference."

Among other issues dealing with waters relatively close to land, a few more matters have developed, but they are considered minor. For example, there are differences over the definition of an archipelago. That may not seem important, but it is very important amount of agreement on broad rights of passage through straits (a major military concern of the U.S.), the straits states don't entirely like the arrangement. But it is believed they will ultimately come around.

A more real issue—pollution from ships—has produced surprising unity. (One possible reason is that shipping states and coastal states are often one and the same, and only have to shake hands with themselves.) "We've come very close to reaching agreement on pollution in all aspects," says a Latin-American diplomat. The plan calls for establishment of international pollution standards for the economic zone. Coastal states wouldn't be allowed to exceed standards with their own rules. That pleases maritime states whose ships wouldn't be closed out of areas where the rules are too stringent. In return, coastal states would be granted considerable powers of enforcement.

The tougher issue of what to do about pollution that starts on land and ends up in the sea was barely grazed by the conference. Environmentalists aren't happy with that, and they also say the accord on shipping pollution seems too vague. One pollution standard on the U.S. delegation says reaction from environmental groups to such a pollution treaty would probably be "lukewarm to opposed."

The Research Issue

Another novel item of the bargaining table hasn't been as successfully handled. The same committee that has found a solution to pollution has been stumped by the question of scientific research. Advanced countries like the U.S. are asking freedom to do research in another country's economic zone. Coastal states want to control it not because they don't like scientists but because some scientists could be soldiers in disguise. "Coastal states," a diplomat says, "have felt threatened by certain scientific research projects that in fact have been all sorts of things."

The U.S. has bugged a bit on this, but not enough to satisfy coastal states. The positions now seem frozen. Some observers suspect the reason for the standstill is that defense has become a "hidden agenda" at a conference that had expressly excluded military matters. The suggestion is made that the large U.S. concession on seabed mining was meant to insure that defense interests would get their way on issues they consider vital, such as freedom of "scientific" research. Top U.S. diplomats deny it. They say the seabed proposal was intended to accelerate talks that seemed doomed.

"Nobody can have everything he wants," a U.S. negotiator says. "There's no point in a treaty that's completely one-sided."

Whatever the motives, the offer of a seabed compromise has reportedly been incorporated into the tentative treaty text with the hope that it may lead to a breakthrough. Throughout the talks, developing countries, many of which export minerals, have been digging in against private mining of the deep-sea floor. They fear that minerals from the sea could glut the minerals markets, and they favor giving an international enterprise the exclusive rights to mine the seabed. But nobody has said where such an enterprise might find the technology, the expertise and the money to break into the ocean-mining business. (And some developing countries that buy minerals have evidently been having second thoughts about a system that would prop up prices for developing countries that produce those minerals.)

The U.S. Proposal

Until now, the United States was standing fast for a free-enterprise system for mining the seabed. Its compromise proposal offers to put two crucial constraints on private companies. It would create a method for handing over some, but not all, fully explored mine sites to an international authority, which would exploit them and share the revenue. In addition, the proposal offers a formula that would increase in sea-mineral production to increase in demand for minerals in general, so that prices wouldn't be eroded. The mining companies, evidently, are amenable to this middle ground. Whether developing countries are willing to drop their ideological opposition to private exploitation remains to be seen.

There is another unresolved seabed issue, and it goes to the heart of the law of the sea. It concerns the make-up of the international council that will operate the deep-seabed authority. The U.S. wants a disproportionately strong voice on the council. Its representatives are convinced that developing countries will use a one-country-one-vote system to advance their own views. Developing countries are just as distrustful of the U.S. and other industrial countries, and similar worries abound at the conference about the fairness of the machinery being constructed for the settlement of all disputes that arise after a treaty is achieved.

The mood confirms a feeling shared by many conference participants: that the original high-sounding notions about preserving the seas as "the common heritage of mankind" have long since gone by the boards and been replaced by the hard-nosed pursuit of property and power.

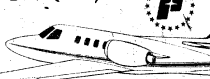
"We are convinced that our common progress requires nations to acknowledge their interdependence and act out of a sense of community," Secretary Kissinger said in his speech about the sea last month. But a diplomat from an island state is skeptical. "When we are finished," he says, "we will have buried the common heritage of mankind."

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MARKET DIARY				
Issues Traded	1975	1976	1977	1978
Advances	1,260	1,223	1,254	1,277
Declines	638	551	1,267	285
Unchanged	28	23	24	24
New highs, 1976	32	42	41	38
New lows, 1976	30	23	24	19

DOW JONES CLOSING AVERAGES				
	1975	1976	1977	1978
Industrials	989.33	+0.7	+0.3%	97.44
Transportation	112.41	+0.78	+0.3%	170.72
Utilities	11.11	+0.13	+0.3%	76.37
Composites	303.88	+0.97	+0.3%	255.40
Ex-dividend of Consolidated Edison Co. of New York				

4 cents, lowered the utility average by 0.13.
The above dividend lowered the composite average by 0.05.

OTHER MARKET INDICATORS				
	1975	1976	1977	1978
N.Y.S.E. Composite	43.86	+0.16	+0.3%	47.44
Industrial	43.86	+0.16	+0.3%	47.44
Utility	11.11	+0.13	+0.3%	76.37
Transportation	11.11	+0.13	+0.3%	76.37
Financial	11.11	+0.13	+0.3%	76.37
Amer. Ex. Mkt. Val. Index	11.11	+0.13	+0.3%	76.37
Nasdaq OTC Composite	11.11	+0.13	+0.3%	76.37
Industrial	11.11	+0.13	+0.3%	76.37
Transportation	11.11	+0.13	+0.3%	76.37
Utilities	11.11	+0.13	+0.3%	76.37
Composites	11.11	+0.13	+0.3%	76.37
Stand. & Poor's 500	11.11	+0.13	+0.3%	76.37

TRADING ACTIVITY
Volume of advancing stocks, 5,720,000 shares; volume of declining stocks, 5,720,000. On American S.E., volume of advancing stocks, 1,260,000 shares; volume of declining stocks, 638,000. Nasdaq volume of advancing stocks, 2,700,000; volume of declining stocks, 1,277,000.

significant magnitude or duration," he said.

Excluding policy variables, "primary influences would appear to dictate a moderately rising inflation rate starting very soon," said Albert T. Summers, consulting economist of Dresser-Burnham & Co. He believes the recent bulge in money supply has prompted the Fed to "take a front-line position" against inflation. The downturn in interest rates appears to be over, he said, and rates should be "gradually reverting into an uptrend."

Losers nosed out gainers on the American Stock Exchange, but its index edged up 0.28 to 102.32. Volume rose to 2,710,000 shares from 1,800,000 Wednesday. The National Association of Securities Dealers' Nasdaq composite index of over-the-counter stocks gained 0.18 to 89.42.

Kodak Slips

Eastman Kodak was the fourth most active Big Board stock and slipped 1/8 to 100 on turnover of 162,100 shares. The stock was up about 1/8 point in the morning before a report that an analyst at a large brokerage house had advised clients to reduce holdings of Kodak to core levels.

Big gainers among plunkers included Xerox, which rose 1 1/2 to 51 on 128,000 shares; Teledyne, up 2 1/2 to 58 1/2; Coca-Cola, 1/2 to 8 1/2; Corning Glass, 1 1/2 to 7 1/2; and International Business Machines, 1 1/2 to 249 1/2. Heavy losers included Burroughs, down 2 to 98 1/2, and Upjohn, which was active, off 1/2 to 38 1/2.

White Motor was the volume leader and dropped 3/4 to 4 1/2; the company said it doesn't intend to seek bankruptcy or reorganization remedies despite the collapse of the proposed merger into White Consolidated Industries. Norton Simon, in second place, closed unchanged at 1 1/2 on 371,000 shares, including a block of 343,000 shares handled by Salomon Brothers at 1 1/2. General Motors, in third place, rose 1/2 to 7 1/2 on 189,100 shares.

Fifteen of the Dow Jones industrial average's 30 components advanced and 15 declined. International Paper climbed 1 1/2 to 7 1/2, and Procter & Gamble advanced 1 1/2 to 90 1/2. Woodward, which reported sharply higher April sales, gained 1 1/2 to 2 1/2.

Canada Southern added 15 to 45 on turnover of 880 shares. Atlantic Richfield jumped 1 to 90 1/2, an uncontrasted report said the company is in the final stages of negotiating a private placement of \$275 million of 20-year secured notes.

Losers edged gainers, 392 to 348, in Nasdaq-reported over-the-counter trading. Volume of 5,646,700 shares almost matched the prior day's 5,638,000. BankAmerica rose 1 to 52 1/2 bid.

Surging, Aided by Belief Out in First Quarter

unfavorable year-to-year earnings comparisons, analysts say, and full-year estimates for some companies remain below reported 1975 earnings. In most cases, analysts expect earnings power to improve in 1977, but major contract negotiations and a United Mine Workers election late next year confuse the picture.

Dean Witter's Mr. Price is estimating Pittston net this year at \$1.90 a share, down from \$5.47 in 1975, with second quarter profit forecast at \$1.15 a share, down from \$1.50 a year before. His 1977 estimate of Pittston earning power is \$6 a share, excluding a possible strike when contracts expire Dec. 8, 1977.

Mr. Price estimates Eastern Gas & Fuel net this year at \$3.20 a share, up from \$4.00 last year, with earnings power in 1977 of \$6 a share. For Westmoreland, he projects 1976 net at \$8.45 a share, down from \$8.62 last year, with 1977 earning power of \$9.50 a share.

Wheat First Securities' Mr. Kawa, who is taking into account a possible strike-caused loss of at least one month's production in 1977, expects gains of only 25 cents to 50 cents from his 1976 estimates in most coal producers' 1977 per-share earnings.

Mr. Kawa's 1976 estimates: Pittston, \$8.50 to \$1.75; Eastern Gas & Fuel, \$5 to \$5.25; Westmoreland, \$7.75 to \$8; North American Coal \$5.40, up from \$4.71 last year; Carbon Industries, \$3.80 to \$3.90, down from \$4.30 last year; and Falcon Sea-board, a producer of steam coal, \$7.50 to \$8, up from \$7.08, fully diluted last year. Because it is nonunion, Falcon Sea-board could earn \$9 or more a share in 1977 without a work stoppage, Mr. Kawa believes.

Mr. Kawa, who tracks supply and demand closely, says he is concerned over an unexpected rise in coal output in March after two months of decline. "Generally, stockpiles of coal are high and the market real improvement in coal pricing may have to be deferred until late this year or early 1977."

Asked how he views the outlook for metallurgical coal, Nicholas T. Camella, president and chief executive officer of Pittston, said yesterday: "It's my opinion that the steel market bottomed out in December and January and we're in a period of gradual increase in steel production here and abroad. Because the pipelines are full, it will take perhaps six months before this has any real effect on demand for metallurgical coal. We look for second quarter conditions to be about the same as those in the first, with a definite, though not large, pickup in the third quarter and a much better fourth quarter picture. Next year should be a very strong year for metallurgical coal and the steel industry."

Mr. Camella said coal prices are firm. "We see the possibility near the end of the year of an atmosphere conducive to increases."

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MANHASSET, N.Y. — Weight Watchers International Inc. said it executed its previously announced agreement to acquire the weight-control program of its United Kingdom franchise for slightly more than \$3 million in cash.
Separately, Weight Watchers said its directors increased the quarterly dividend 25% to 10 cents a share from eight cents payable June 1 to holders of record May 15.

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61	62	63	64	65
66	67	68	69	70
71	72	73	74	75
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THURSDAY, APRIL 29, 1976 *New York Times*

Letters to the Editor

Sea Law: The 'Appalling' U.S. Concessions

To the Editor:

As one who has followed and participated in the Law of the Sea negotiations for nearly ten years now, I found the concessions on deep-seabed mining outlined by Secretary of State Kissinger earlier this month to be appalling. It should now be obvious to all that the dominant force in developing and implementing U.S. oceans policy is the Department of Defense.

In its quest for free transit through international straits and high-seas navigational rights within 200-mile economic resource zones, D.O.D. is apparently willing to trade off any other interest of any other segment of American government or industry.

The objectives of insuring a free flow of commerce on the world oceans and mobility for warships of the United States Navy are highly commendable ones. However, to acquiesce in price and production controls for deep-seabed minerals, effective coastal-state control over oceanographic research up to 200 miles from the coast and other demands of underdeveloped countries is completely unnecessary and unwarranted.

Under existing international law we have the right to mine deep-seabed minerals without any price or produc-

tion controls; the right, without advance consent, to conduct oceanographic research in the waters off the coasts of any nation beyond its territorial sea, and the right of high-seas freedom of navigation beyond the territorial sea. It is absurd to trade away existing rights to obtain still other existing rights.

All of these existing rights could and should be maintained by an assertion of political will on the part of the United States and the backing of that will by the threat or the use of force where necessary. To do otherwise is to engage in a dangerous policy of appeasement toward the third world.

The consequences of a failure of the Law of the Sea Conference to produce a comprehensive and widely accepted treaty are not at all adverse for the United States. Chaos and anarchy will not follow the collapse of this "floating debate," and U.S. interests may well be better served by its demise. The United States should therefore cease its policy of obtaining a Law of the Sea treaty at any price.

H. GARY KNIGHT

Baton Rouge, La., April 22, 1976
The writer is Campanile Professor of Marine Resources Law at Louisiana State University.

10 *New York Times* (April 11, 1976)

U.S. Seabed Proposals Set Off Debate

By KATHLEEN TELTSCH

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., April 10—New United States proposals for mining the minerals of the ocean floor seem to have reassured copper-exporting countries that have been worried about the impact on the world market of the new ocean resources. But the proposals also appear to have upset European countries gearing up to compete with the Americans in the new mining fields.

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger offered the proposals as a "package" in a speech Thursday in New York in which he warned that the United States would proceed "to explore and mine on its own" unless agreement was reached soon on an ocean treaty that is in negotiation here by 1,500 representatives of 156 countries.

"We do not like being bullied," one Asian delegate said in reaction to Mr. Kissinger's efforts to spur the negotiations, which began in Caracas in 1974, continued in Geneva last year and are to continue here until May 7.

But Mr. Kissinger met privately later with conference participants telling them "it makes no sense for us to ram up acceptable proposals down your throats," and this seems to have muted the complaints being heard here about an American "ultimatum."

Outlook on Seabed Output

According to conference members, where the United States has moved forward most significantly to meet critics is in the efforts to allay the fears of countries such as Chile, Peru, Zambia and Zaire, whose economies are heavily dependent on copper and who worry that world market prices will be depressed by seabed mining. The United States regards their concern as exaggerated in extent and argues that commercial exploitation is at least five years off and for many more years will amount to a fraction of global output. But Secretary Kissinger now has

offered a temporary limitation on seabed production that would be fixed by the treaty. While this has met some of the demands, it was clear the land-based producers also would like a firm American commitment that seabed production would be covered by an international commodity agreement.

The United States decision to limit production was praised by Alan Beesley, Canada's deputy delegation head, who remarked that it was a difficult decision for the Americans because of the pressure to move ahead with production from domestic mining interests. I have no hesitancy in saying the United States has followed a flexible, forward-looking policy and not tried to stonewall anyone," he said.

Canada and France, both nickel-exporting countries, would be expected to approve the limitation on production because it covers nickel, copper and other ores.

"The United States has extended a hand to the developing countries of the world," declared an African delegate who would not be identified because of his status as a leading negotiator, but who applauded the Kissinger proposal

as opening up new prospects for agreement at least on some of the treaty provisions covering the deep seabed.

Where the United States proposals will run into trouble with rival industrial countries such as the Soviet Union, Japan and the Western Europeans is on the issue of staking out claims to seabed sites.

"I see a big battle ahead because the United States is six or seven years ahead in technology and the others fear the American mining interests will grab the prime sites," one conference participant predicted.

Mr. Kissinger pointedly alluded to this possibility in his speech, by insisting that the treaty should not try to limit the number of mine sites that any nation might exploit and argued there was no danger that seabed mining would be "monopolized" when there were more productive sites than could be mined for centuries to come.

American experts estimate on the basis of initial prospecting that there are 400 to 500 such sites but Europeans say there may be only 30 or 40.

Mr. Kissinger spoke optimistically of an accord on offshore economic zones and on rights of transit through straits.

Sea-Law Parley Opens Its Third Session at the U.N.

By PAUL HOFMANN
Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., March 15—The United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea resumed today with 156 Governments represented in what has been termed a now-or-never attempt to reach international legal agreement on the uses of the ocean.

The session that began here this afternoon is due to focus on negotiations behind closed doors over the next eight weeks in the hope of achieving a breakthrough that would enable the participants, possibly after yet another session, to sign a new Law of the Sea Treaty in Caracas, Venezuela, before the end of this year.

Secretary General Kurt Waldheim warned delegates in an opening address: "We will have lost a unique opportunity, and one that may not occur again, if the uses made of the sea are not subjected to orderly development for the benefit of all."

Delegates are to consider proposals to extend the limit of the territorial sea, over which coastal nations have exclusive jurisdiction, from three nautical miles from the shoreline to 12. The United States is prepared to agree.

Economic Zone Is Issue

The prime topic is the concept of an exclusive economic zone beyond the territorial sea where coastal countries would have sovereign rights to explore and exploit natural resources—above all, fisheries and offshore oilfields. Many nations, including the United States, have already agreed to a 200-mile breadth of such privileged strips, measured from the shoreline, or 188 miles outside the territorial sea.

Exclusive jurisdiction over offshore resources would be extended beyond the 200-mile limit if the continental shelf exceeds that distance. This submerged foundation of the continents is broader than 200 miles along coastal stretches



The New York Times/Don Hogan Charles
Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, left, during the resumption yesterday of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. At center is Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka, president of conference, at right is David Hall, the secretary.

of the United States, Canada and other nations.

Technological advances, disputes between seafaring nations and such conflicts as the present dispute over fishing rights between Britain and Iceland make a new international convention on sea law urgent.

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, in a speech in Montreal last August, said a breakdown of the conference "will lead to unrestrained military and commercial rivalry and mounting political tension." He said the negotiation that is now about to begin might be "the world's last chance" for long-term global stability.

Earlier conference sessions were held in Caracas in 1974, and in Geneva last year.

Passage Through Straits

Among the issues before the current conference are requests for rules to allow ships of all countries to pass through straits used for international navigation, regardless of privileged zones. The Gibraltar entrance to the Mediterranean Sea and more than 100 other

agency "for the common benefit of mankind."

The United States rejects a monopoly for the proposed international seabed organization while advocating new regulations for managing the exploitation of the deep ocean floor cooperatively.

The conflicting claims by the big maritime powers and the other participants in the conference touch on economic interests amounting to many billions of dollars a year, and much more to come in the near future.

The president of the conference, Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe

ritime experts from the largest number of governments ever represented in a parley.

In addition to all 144 United Nations, 12 states outside the organization were invited—the Vatican, North and South Korea, Liechtenstein, Monaco, Nauru, San Marino, Western Samoa, Switzerland, Tonga, and North and South Vietnam.

The American contingent today comprised more than 100 specialists and advisers from various Washington departments and agencies. The United States' Mission to the United Nations moved desks into its auditorium to accommodate them all.

The United States delegation is led by President Ford's special representative for the conference, T. Vincent Pearson, a retired executive of International Business Machines Corporation.

Security measures at United Nations headquarters were strengthened today. Security guards checked all credentials.

The basis of the discussions that are due to start in three main committees tomorrow is a "single informal negotiating text" composed of hundreds of articles and annexes that grew out of the preceding sessions.

The text before the conference included a section projecting a new sea-law tribunal for settling disputes. The Tribunal is conceived as one of the principal organs of the proposed International Seabed Authority. Special procedures concerning disagreements over fisheries, pollution and scientific research are foreseen.

Other proposals deal with freedom of navigation and overflight and the laying of submarine cables and pipelines for all countries in the 200-mile exclusive zones, access to the sea for landlocked countries with short coastlines, the repression of piracy and narcotics traffic, and the protection of the maritime environment.

ing of Sra. Laupka, said in a news briefing last week that he would be "very apprehensive" if no substantial agreement was achieved in 1976 on what he named as "hard-core issues"—territorial sea exclusive economic zone, and unimpeded access to straits or international navigation.

With 156 sovereign countries participating, the conference is bringing together, in turns, 5,000 diplomats, lawyers and ma-

World Talks on Sea's Riches Open

Special to The Washington Post
UNITED NATIONS, March 15—The diplomatic version of the Greatest Show on Earth—The 3rd U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea—opened here today for an eight-week run. It is by far the largest and most all-encompassing negotiating session ever set in motion, and perhaps the most important as well.

It involves the fate of half the world's potential oil reserves, \$3 trillion worth of hard minerals, a sizeable chunk of mankind's potential foodstuffs, the strategic interests of the world's military powers, protection of the most vulnerable sections of the globe's environment, and the first major attempt to establish a truly international sovereignty over a huge area of the earth's surface.

Today's opening ceremonies included a cast of 156 governments represented by some 1,200 delegates and several thousand official observers.

The conference, which follows smaller meetings in

limited aspects of sea law, emerged from an idea tossed out by a maverick Maltese diplomat, Arvid Pardo, in 1967. Pardo thought that the area of the seas beyond national jurisdiction should be set aside, regulated and exploited as "the common heritage of mankind."

It soon became clear that no agreement could be reached without a definition of where national jurisdiction ends. A package deal had to emerge involving all aspects of sea law—shipping rights, legal and economic rights of coastal states, the rights of land-locked nations, regulation of fisheries, a mechanism to govern the international zone, and provisions for environmental control and oceanographic research.

The current U.N. conference began to tackle all those problems here in 1973, moving to Caracas, Venezuela in 1974, Geneva in 1976, and back here this year in a process that will not come end until final ratification of the results is completed in the 1980s.

When Pardo made his suggestion in 1967, most nations claimed control over the seas and their resources up to three miles off their coasts. This traditional distance was established by Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius in the 17th century based on the range of shore-based cannon at that time.

Since 1967, 81 nations have asserted a total of 230 new claims of jurisdiction—such as Iceland's claims of enlarged fishing zones which precipitated the "Cod Wars" with Britain and Canada's 100-mile pollution control zone.

Discussions up to now indicate a good chance for an agreement to let each coastal state extend its full sovereignty 12 miles out to sea rather than the present three miles and claim "sovereign" rights to natural resources, including fish, another 188 miles out to sea. This would leave international sovereignty over seabed resources beyond 200 miles.

One piece of legislation before the U.S. Congress

threatens to torpedo the conference's efforts in this area, experts here say. The bill introduced by Sen. Lee Metcalfe (D-Mont.) on behalf of mineral interests would guarantee the investments of firms that choose to exploit unilaterally mineral wealth beyond national jurisdiction.

Three American firms—Tenneco, Kennecott and Deepsea Ventures (owned by Howard Hughes)—are pushing the bill. They have the technology to start scooping potato-sized manganese nodules containing copper, tin and cobalt as well as manganese from the seabeds in mid-ocean.

The estimated \$3 trillion in nodules constitutes the major source of potential revenue in the area beyond national jurisdiction and the sharing of this revenue is one of the major incentives for international compromise. Thus most experts involved in the U.N. negotiations believe that the Metcalfe bill, if passed, could as

U.N. exercise; we could just pack up and forget it."

But the pressure of these and other unilateral actions has created in the majority of underdeveloped coastal nations the realization that their tactic of sitting tight and waiting out a favorable deal is now likely to produce diminishing returns.

So far, the land-locked states of the underdeveloped Third World have gone along with the majority drive for broad jurisdiction by coastal states out of a desire to preserve group solidarity. Their own individual interests remain largely unprotected in the suggested agreement being used as a basis for negotiations.

Any deal concluded now would, the experts agree, favor coastal state sovereignty over international control on most key issues. But if the talks collapse—and everyone admits they could—the world will see what Britain's Lord Ritchie Calder has called "the biggest smash-and-grab since the European powers carved up black Af-

File
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LONDON TIMES
15 March 1976

The long voyage ahead for the law of the sea

Another session of the United Nations Law of the Sea conference opens in New York today, accompanied by a depressing sense of *deja vu*. Once again, as in Geneva last year and Caracas in 1974, delegates from about 150 countries will try to reach agreement on the content of an international law of the sea convention which will lay down the rules and principles to be applied to the use of the oceans and their resources, both on the sea-bed and in the waters.

A certain degree of cynicism, or at least tired pessimism, is not unreasonable. The optimistic forecasts, by governmental and United Nations sources, which preceded the 10-week Caracas session and the eight-week-long Geneva talks, were belied by the actual progress made. Each was billed as a "make or break" effort to reach an internationally acceptable agreement, failing which chaos would reign. The brave faces put on the minimal results achieved, and the protestations that progress had in fact been satisfactory given the complexity of the issues involved, were justifiably treated with some scepticism.

This year, the lessons learnt, the build-up to the eight-week New York session has been muted. No extravagant claims are being made. Indeed, it is generally accepted that agreement will not be reached, and plans have already been discussed for the holding of a further session later in the year.

On one important subject, events have overtaken the conference's deliberate pace. A number of countries, tired of continually being asked not to take any action on fishing limits before the conference has had a chance to agree on them, have lost patience. Some, like Iceland, have already unilaterally extended their area of exclusive fishing jurisdiction. Others, including the United States and Canada, have made it clear that they intend doing so in the near future. Such unilateral action is bound to start a chain reaction, with other states in self-defence

declaring their own extensions, and coming to bilateral and regional arrangements with other countries interested in the same fishing fields.

The law of the sea conference will have no alternative but to accept this pre-emption of its decision on the issue. The problem is not that the by-passing of the conference on fishing limits will create a set of rules very different from those which would anyway have been decided, but that dealing with one particular issue separately from the wider framework does violence to the package-deal approach which has been the corner-stone of the conference's aims. It removes one piece of a jigsaw, without considering that that piece interlocks and interacts with other pieces.

Deep-sea mining is the other field in which international agreement may be anticipated by the unilateral action of government. It is a subject on which the conference is still divided, despite some narrowing of the gap towards the end of the Geneva session and in informal inter-sessional discussions since. All are agreed that an international authority should be set up to govern the exploration and exploitation of minerals on the deep-sea bed, especially important among which are manganese nodules, which contain rich deposits of nickel, copper and cobalt. There are deep differences, however, about the powers and functions of the proposed new authority.

The United States Congress, however, is likely soon to pass a Bill which would allow the United States authorities to grant licences for deep-sea mining, and there are at least three international consortia capable, within a few years, of starting full-scale mining operations. They would prefer to mine under an internationally agreed regime, but if given the go-ahead by the United States, and assuming financial, legal and political factors to be favourable, they would start operating without waiting for the law of

the sea conference to reach agreement.

At the end of the Geneva session, a single negotiating text was drawn up, which will form the basis for the discussions in New York. On some issues the text reflects a consensus, on others it states propositions which are not necessarily widely accepted, and on which considerable debate is expected.

The main issues, apart from those already mentioned, are still the same. The concept of a 200-mile exclusive economic zone has now been generally accepted, but there are still differing views on the extent of the coastal state's jurisdiction over the zone, especially over navigation, pollution, and scientific research in the area between its territorial sea and the 200 miles.

Britain (whose delegation to the conference has a new leader, Mr Donald Logan, following the retirement of Sir Roger Jackling) is particularly concerned to retain its jurisdiction over the United Kingdom continental shelf, which extends farther than 200 miles. It is prepared to consider a revenue-sharing arrangement with the poorer countries, in respect of the resources beyond 200 miles. There is also general acceptance of a 12-mile territorial sea, but some disagreement over the extent of the right to navigate through international straits which are part of a coastal state's territorial sea. The control of marine pollution, too, will be the subject of intense debate.

The New York talks should make some progress, and it is not unlikely that follow-up talks later in 1976 will clinch agreement, at least in principle, on all the important issues, and that an international law of the sea convention will be signed in 1977, although it will not, of course, come into operation until ratified by a sufficient number of states. This could take several years.

Marcel Berlins
Legal Correspondent

Christian Science Monitor
19 March 1976

Space registration

With the skies becoming increasingly crowded with satellites and other objects, President Ford has asked the Senate to ratify an international agreement calling for the registration of objects launched into outer space, and reporting of each launching to the United Nations Secretary-General.

WASHINGTON POST
21 MAR 1976

Soviets Offered Drugs Proposal

MOSCOW, March 20 (UPI)—A Soviet scientist today urged special education in the nation's schools to stem an apparently growing incidence of drug use.

The recommendation by L. Bogdanovich was contained in an article titled "Slow Suicide," published by the youth newspaper Moskovskiy Komsomolets.

It was one in a series of public acknowledgements that a drug problem exists in the Soviet Union.

WASHINGTON POST
22 MAR 1976

• Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky arrived in Abu Dhabi today at the head of a six-member group representing the Socialist International on a tour of Arab states.

Undgår strid

Men i det store og hele har russerne sandsynligvis gjort klogt i at undlade officielt at oprette en base i Singapore eller Subic Bay med alt, hvad dertil hører. De har ofte opnået good-will ved at stille deres betydelige fiskeri-ekspertise til rådighed for lande i den Tredje Verden. I Mauritius har russerne, f.eks. til gengæld for assistance til fiskeriet fået lov til lejlighedsvis at sende en Aeroflot-maskine med afløsning for trawler-besætningerne. I det Indiske Ocean som alle andre steder er trawlerne et værdifuldt led i det russiske efterretnings-net.

Russerne har også omhyggeligt styret uden om fiskestridigheder og »torskekrige«, selv om de har haft et sammenstød med canadierne og fornylig har haft næsen for langt fremme ved at anmode om faciliteter for deres fiske-skibe på Islands kyst, noget, som Reykjavik pure afsløj. I betragtning af deres fiskeriflådes størrelse, har det ikke været nogen ringe bedrift, at de i det store og hele har undgået vanskeligheder. Ifølge det seneste Lloyds Register har Sovjet 643 af verdens samlede antal på 902 trawlere på over 2.000 tons og 122 af verdens samlede antal på 139 fiskeforarbejdningsskibe på over 10.000 tons. Mange af de sidstnævnte anvendes naturligvis til halvfangst i meget af sides egne af verden.

U-både og hangarskibe

En anseelig del af den voksende handelsflåde (i de sidste 18 år er den steget fra den 26. i verden til verdens sjette-største) er bygget i andre Comecon-lande og i den vestlige verden for at give flådebyggeriet prioritet på de russiske værfter. Denne prioritering har været nødvendig for at give bygningen af ubåde mulighed for at fortsætte. Sovjetunionen har nu 189 ubåde, der kan afyre ballistiske missiler og 76 mindre ubåde, og admiral Gorsjov har for søgt at kompensere for flådens mangler inden for andre kategorier. Den mest iøjnefaldende kontrast mellem den amerikanske og den sovjetiske flåde er amerikanernes 15 hangarskibe og russernes savn af noget, der kan sammenlignes dermed.

Men dette kompenseres delvis gennem bygningen af helikopterskibene »Moskva« og »Leningrad« og sidste år af det første russiske hangarskib, »Kiev«, på 35.000 tons og bygningen af endnu et, »Minsk«. Ifølge det amerikanske forsvars efterretnings-tjeneste vil »Kiev« indgå i flåden i år og »Minsk« sandsynligvis i 1978.

Selv om »Kiev« er udstyret med et skråt flyvedæk, har man hidtil ikke set den forsynet med katapult og det

gear, der er nødvendigt for landing på dækket med almindelige flyvemaskiner. Men både den og »Minsk« vil kunne anvendes til maskiner, der starter lodret eller på kort startbane, og her råder Sovjet over et egnet fly, Yak-36, som allerede har gennemført start- og landingsforsøg til søs på et af helikopter-skibene.

Den russiske flåde har fundet god anvendelse for den store styrke af bombemaskiner, som er ved at blive forældede. De anvendes til rekognoscering for flåden. »Grævlingen« med en operationsradius på små 6.500 km og »Bjørnen« med mere end det dobbelte, er de fly, der oftest ses kredsende over NATO manøvrer og vestlige søfartsruter. De vestlige flåder har derimod påtaget sig udgiften ved at bygge specialkonstruerede rekognosceringsmaskiner uden at have opnået nogen nævneværdig gevinst i form af større effektivitet.

Stor ildkraft — ringe plads

Admiral Gorsjov har benyttet den store indflydelse, han har haft under sine 20 år som flådens øverste leder, til at presse på for at få en mere afbalanceret flåde — med større vægt på luftrekognoscering, marinefly, der kan lande på havet, og amfibie-langangsfartøjer. Sovjets flåde har 17.000

mand veltrænede marine-landgangstropper. Men Gorsjovs flåde har stadig sine mangler. En af dem kommer af den den særlige mission, mange sovjetiske skibe har. Ifølge en undersøgelse, der fornylig er gennemført af det amerikanske flådehygnings-center, er de sovjetiske skibe udstyret med stor ildkraft og bygget til høj hastighed med den hensigt at kunne etablere »sø-barriere«, hvorved forstås at kunne afskære vestlige skibsruter. For at opnå dette formål har man givet afkald på en del komfort og holdbarhed. Skønt sovjetiske skibe besætninger normalt er mindre end i de vestlige flåder, er de russiske værnepligtige matroser pakket sammen på snævrere plads, når de er til søs. En anden ulempe er, at de kun sjældent genindkaldes, når værnepligten er aftjent. Dette indvirker uheldigt på den høje grad af teknisk ekspertise, som er nødvendig i moderne flåder.

Det er ikke desto mindre en flåde, som Peter den Store ville have været stolt af. Der har gået rygter om, at admiral Gorsjov, som blev udnævnt til admiral af Krusjtjov i januar 1965, snart vil trække sig tilbage. Men intet tyder på, at hans eventuelle efterfølger vil vige tilbage for at bruge de verdensomspændende muligheder, som han har givet denne flåde.

NEW YORK TIMES
22 March 1976

SOVIET DELAY SEEN ON ARMS PROPOSAL

U.S. Gets No Reply to Offer on New Accord to Limit Strategic Weapons

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, March 21—The lack of a Soviet response so far to the latest American proposals for resolving remaining differences over a new agreement on limiting strategic arms has puzzled a few Soviet insiders as well as some Western diplomats here.

The proposals were made in reply to those that the Soviet party chief, Leonid I. Brezhnev, gave to Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger before their talks wound up here in January. The American proposals were reportedly conveyed more than a month ago through Ambassador Anatoly F. Dobrynin in Washington. An American diplomat said that a reply was expected by the middle of this month.

There is speculation in some

quarters that the delay reflects Soviet concern about the American election campaign rather than technical considerations. One well-placed Soviet source thought that Moscow might have given up on a new arms accord this year, feeling that it could not be completed during the heat of an American election.

But another Soviet source felt that the Kremlin did not yet view the election campaign as a major obstacle to a new arms agreement, which it considers to be in the interest of both nations.

Question of Détente

A related theory here is that the Russians might be holding back out of pique over growing criticism in the United States of the détente relationship. But some American diplomats and Soviet insiders discounted this because they felt Moscow attached a high priority to concluding the agreement outlined by Mr. Brezhnev and President Ford near Vladivostok 16 months ago.

While stepping up its criticism of the United States recently, the Soviet press has generally soft-pedaled its disapproval of the tougher line on détente that President Ford has taken in recent speeches. The foreign affairs weekly Novoye Vremya observed in its current issue that the concept of "peace through strength," which Mr.

Ford proposed to replace the word "détente," had failed to bring its authors anything but "failures like the defeat of the aggressors in Indochina."

Pravda, the Communist Party newspaper, also recently criticized the election-time "fashion of faultfinding" against relaxation of tensions, but it contended that responsible American politicians still understood that better East-West relations headed off the threat of nuclear war. Other articles, while frosty in tone, have stressed continuing American public support for détente.

Conferences Postponed

Though it may be worried, the Kremlin has not expressed public anger over Washington's postponement last week of joint conferences on energy, housing and commerce because of Soviet involvement in Angola.

"It is foolish to think we would withdraw support for our friends in Angola just to hold meetings that are of as much benefit to you," one Soviet source said. In fact, 400 individual and group exchanges between the two countries have been scheduled for the rest of this year.

Soviet and American negotiators have been meeting daily to seek an agreement defining the limitation of nuclear test explosions. It is uncertain whether they will finish before the March 31 deadline when a related 1974 pact limiting un-

derground nuclear tests to an explosive force of 150 kilotons goes into effect. A diplomatic source following the progress of the talks here has reported that a basic hurdle—on-site inspection—has been overcome, putting an agreement within reach.

No Brezhnev Deadline

While the Kremlin was not expected to respond to the newest American arms-limitation proposal during the Soviet Communist Party Congress, it was thought that Soviet military specialists might be working on a reply that Moscow could offer after the Congress, which ended more than two weeks ago. One Soviet source pointed out that Mr. Brezhnev had made a new strategic-arms agreement the first goal of his new "peace program."

But a ranking Western diplomat noted that Mr. Brezhnev's pledge at the Congress to "do everything to complete the preparation of a new Soviet-U.S. agreement on limiting and reducing strategic armaments" was not linked to any deadline, and that this gave Moscow more flexibility.

Ambassador Dobrynin is in Moscow, by one account because of flu, but an American diplomat said that a new proposal could be given to Mr. Kissinger through the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

he has an overall majority of

Mr. Wilson is likely to survive it is that it was engineered by his second is a widespread feeling in so that a Labour prime minister stepped leader to coax, cajole, and and trade unions through the still to keep Britain economically

Labour left-wing MPs — who, 46 government defeat on Wednesday in carrying the usually militant

covered by a prime minister who ing to slash public spending on itals, and food subsidies. Wilson had managed to win the



By Sven Simon

Prime Minister Wilson: embarrassed but carrying on

support too of ministers whom the left-wingers had looked upon as "their own" within the Cabinet, such as Employment Secretary Michael Foot. The left-wingers' role in the government's parliamentary defeat Wednesday was their revenge.

Because they are of his own party, Mr. Wilson will be able to come back from his defeat. In the vote of confidence (that is, one by which the government will stand or fall) announced for Thursday afternoon the left-wingers were expected to vote for the government rather than face either a general election in which they could lose their seats or a Conservative government led by Margaret Thatcher.

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off

Can 'law of the sea' parley agree on sharing wealth?

By David Anable
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
United Nations, N.Y.

Time was when a hardy explorer could tuck his telescope under his arm, venture forth in his square-rigged vessel, discover a distant land, and claim it with his nation's flag.

Today's big question is: Shall much the same medieval system apply to the nearly four-fifths of the earth's surface covered by seas and oceans, the world's last great unclaimed territory?

That is the nub of the problem facing the United Nations Law of the Sea Conference when its fourth, and probably crucial, session opens here Monday.

Unless agreement is reached soon on the orderly exploitation of the oceans' mineral and fish wealth for the good of mankind as a whole, then a first-come, first-serve anarchy is

likely to prevail. The British-Icelandic "cod war" and the Greek-Turkish dispute over mineral rights in the Aegean Sea are two early warnings of the possible consequences of failure.

Already 14 countries, including the United States, either are extending or preparing to extend fishery and/or other controls far out to sea.

In addition, the U.S. Congress is mulling legislation that would license American companies to mine blocks of deep-sea bed.

So the Law of the Sea Conference has a mighty task in front of it: To put together a new framework of international law covering everything from territorial seas and rights of passage through straits of military importance, to deep sea mining, offshore oil drilling, fishing rights, and pollution — and to do all this without delay

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government and prevent other surveillance of Americans without sufficient cause.

• Within a few days, the Senate Intelligence Committee is to release its final report. It is expected to detail abuses and privacy invasions by government agencies, assign responsibility when possible, and recommend areas for congressional action designed to prevent future abuses.

• The Justice Department Wednesday (March 10) issued guidelines to the FBI to

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Inside today...

PBS-TV fund-raising fest



The Monitor's television critic assesses in-depth specials on Mussolini and other topics being aired by public stations in a bid for viewer contributions. Page 23

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12 March 76

NY-WUS
UNCLASS.

Regulating government wiretapping

From Page 1

to insure abuses of citizen rights, unauthorized wiretapping. While the law would not forbid the FBI to tap, it could be installed without approval of FBI headquarters. Guidelines would prohibit the FBI from tapping homes or offices, inciting people to commit crimes, or distributing letters or documents intended to subject any group to "scorn, ridicule, or abuse." Congressional committees have heard such testimony that the FBI engaged in these activities during the Nixon administration as part of its Cointel program that it considered domestic dis-

sent. In 1975, President Ford issued a wide-ranging restructuring of government intelligence agencies and their operations. It was intended to limit their domestic activities and to structure them to affix responsibility to see that restrictions are com-

plied. In the President explicitly forbade intelligence agencies from a number of spying activities.

He specifically barred them from wiretapping, except in cases where it was legal — and then only under procedures approved by the Attorney General. (These restrictions did not apply to the FBI, whose activities are covered in the just-released Justice Department guidelines.)

However, many in Congress believe that executive orders — such as the President's of last month, and the Justice Department's of this week — are inadequate safeguards for American citizens, inasmuch as they could be reversed when new officials assume top government posts.

What is needed, Congress generally believes, are new laws which cannot be changed except by congressional action. Yet a number of congressional sources concede that support has flagged in Congress and the nation for passage of new legislation to guard both privacy of American citizens and the real needs of government for essential information. And they are skeptical that Congress can muster the strength this year to pass such laws — even if it could decide what they should say.

Britain's Wilson loses but doesn't fall

From Page 1

On the other hand, they have made a point of not letting Wilson feel obliged to revise some of his proposed public spending cuts before resubmitting them to Parlia-

ment. The union in Britain as a whole is not as strong (and is probably impatient with) as the left-wingers. But Wednesday's vote for Mr. Wilson is a reminder of the strength and their ability to mount a challenge. They survive and are active not only on the backbenches in Parliament but also in the trade unions, in the Young Labour movement and local constituency parties.

Tough decisions beyond Mr. Wilson's proposed public spending cuts may well lie ahead if Britain is to recover economically and the health of the pound be restored.

The left wing will almost certainly try to thwart them. But many Britons still think a Harold Wilson stirred to do battle with the left wing (and continuing to have majority support in the Labour Party) is more likely to prevail and carry the country with him than is a Conservative Prime Minister who can too easily be represented by foes and critics as the protector of big business, industry, and the rich.

Japan still tops in ship building tonnage

By the Associated Press

LONDON — Japan maintained the world's top shipbuilding position at its share in the global total was 34.2 percent, newcomers like Poland, Brazil, Korea, Lloyds Register of shipping tonnage output of 16.9 million gross tons

represented 49.6 percent of the world tonnage of newly completed merchant ships, which soared to a record 34.2 million tons. In 1974 Japan's share was 50.4 percent.

Lloyds said that Poland, Brazil, and South Korea together built 454,000 tons more than in 1974 — the tonnage almost equal to that built last year by the United States.

★ Can parley agree on how to share wealth?

Continued from Page 1

The conference has gone through three sessions — a brief inaugural in New York in 1973, and meetings in Caracas in 1974 and in Geneva in 1975. But the coming eight-week session is the first in which the 156 nations participating will have before them a "negotiating text" that is, in effect, a 407-article draft convention.

Agreement is widespread on some of the principles involved: 12-mile territorial limits; an "exclusive economic zone" (EEZ) or perhaps 200 miles within which the coastal state would control at least fisheries; an "International Seabed Resource Authority" (ISRA) to regulate deep-sea mining outside the EEZ, with resources to be shared as the "common heritage" of mankind.

Fundamental disagreements remain on how to apply such principles. These must be resolved if the conference is to succeed, for, to gain worldwide consensus, this has to be a package deal. It is all or nothing.

Perhaps the most important disagreement is over who will exploit the deep-sea minerals (nickel, copper, cobalt, manganese) — and how the benefits will be shared between the technologically advanced few and the needy many.

Will private and state companies do the mining or the ISRA itself? Can a compromise be reached as proposed in the negotiating text, allowing both to mine?

The answers will reflect heavily on the powers of ISRA. Developing countries want the authority's scope to be sweeping; industrial countries want minimal interference with extraction. And through what system of vote and vetoes will ISRA itself be controlled?

Yet to be decided is how much jurisdiction the coastal states will have over the exclusive economic zone. This issue is complicated by the demand of landlocked countries for access both to these waters and a share of their resources.

If territorial limits are pushed to 12 miles, they will include several now-open straits. Yet imposing controls of, for instance, "innocent passage" would require submarines to surface and show the flag — an unacceptable demand for the big powers.

Other problems, such as oceanographic research and pollution control, also loom.